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copy their behavior. When several mothers and their children are gathered, a mother of a year-old child will coo, "Cute baby" as she strokes a friend's infant's head. She smiles at her child, takes his hand, and repeats the action. A spontaneous response such as this on the part of a year-old child would evoke admiration and voluble praise from the audience. A year and a half old boy became the pride of his mother when he approached all little children with a highly nurturant attitude. He had learned his lesson so well that he considered children of his own age babies because they were smaller than himself. Walking up to them, he would bend down, pat their heads patronizingly, and take their hands to guide them along.

Equally important to the Okinawan parent is a friendly child who is well liked by everyone in the village. A happy, smiling personality is ideal, and it is this wish for the child which leads grandmothers and mothers to perpetuate the custom of burying the afterbirth of a newborn to the accompaniment of laughter and appeals to the spirits to ensure this characteristic. Adults constantly try to get infants to smile by talking and making funny sounds and faces. Even young children approach infants clapping their hands together in an attempt to elicit smiles.

Treatment of children during this initial period discourages expression of self-reliant behavior. As described above, except for rare and very brief intervals during the day, a child is strapped onto someone's back from the time he wakes up in the morning to the time he is put to bed at night. The child is carried about in this fashion from the age of one month until he is almost 2 years old.

* * *

Chapter 14

Weaning

When a mother discovers that she is pregnant again, usually about two years after her last delivery, she begins to think of weaning her child. Most mothers nurse the last child until they are about three months

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told, "No, no, no." In this manner the child is taught his early table manners.

As the child approaches the age of 2, the mother begins to praise him for eating without messing but still does not scold him if he fails to do so. He is the center of interest at the table, and his grandparents as well as older siblings encourage him with smiles and expressions of approval. At this time he loses interest in the spoon and is attracted to [412] the chopsticks, which everyone else at the table uses. As he struggles to handle the sticks, the adult holding him sets them in his hand. Holding his hand, with the chopsticks held in the proper position, they guide him a few times; then, as he protests and indicates annoyance at being restrained, they leave him to experiment for himself. This ritual is repeated at each meal, but the child is fed from the adult's chopsticks until he has mastered the technique for himself. The child is not hurried along in his experimentations or learning attempts. The adult praises each fortunate action and quickly slips food into the smiling, open mouth, and the child continues without protest.

Before each meal, people in the village raise their bowls and chopsticks slightly and bow their heads momentarily, murmuring, "Itadakimasu" (a polite signal that the meal is about to be partaken). Similarly, at the conclusion of the meal, the bowl is raised with a brief nod of the head, but this time the expression offered is "Gochiso-sama" (to indicate it was a treat . . . feast). Two very outspoken and good-humored mothers would nurse their young babies, then take the little hands, fold them over each other, palm sides up, gently push the bodies forward, and say, "Gochiso-sama!" Serious training in this aspect of eating etiquette, however, is left until the child is learning to feed himself.

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Weaning, then, does not involve a dramatic change in all aspects of the diet of a child, and in many ways may be most traumatic as a withdrawal of the indulgent nurturance of the mother. With the arrival of the new baby, a further step in the emotional weaning takes place. The child is denied his mother's back, for she now has a new baby to tend and eventually to carry.

Treatment of succorance during weaning contrasts sharply with that of the infancy and early childhood period. Unless there is a grandmother or older siblings in the family, this is the time of real deprivation for the child. He is ridiculed, shamed, and punished for demanding to be carried. It is a time marked with temper tantrums, extended periods of crying, and sullenness. Without doubt, this is the most trying stage in the life of a Taira child. Until the words, "You are a big

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brother or big sister" take effect, he is the most miserable creature alive in the village.

Weaning from the back often occurs at the same time as weaning from the breast; if not it occurs within six months. While this study was being done, eight children between 18 months and 2 years were weaned from the back as well as from the breast. Temper tantrums in which the child would sit down and scream his head off, hurl dirt and stones at his mother, older siblings, or adults who stopped to have a kind word with him or to ridicule him, and incessant whining were symptomatic of the repercussions of abrupt withdrawal. Sulkiness, stubbornness, and tyrannical behavior, however, are short lived. The child finds that although this kind of behavior brought immediate and rewarding responses in the past, he now faces further withdrawal or punishment as a result. The mother impatiently screams back at him to stop crying, and siblings simply leave him behind to keep up with his own pace or drag him along forcibly and uncomfortably, with threats of punishment if he refuses to cooperate. As if to heap more abuse on deprivation, he finds the newly arrived baby the center of the household and taking his place at his mother's breast. He is encouraged and discouraged by turns. "You are an older brother or an older sister. You do not drink your mother's milk now. And see how big you are and such a good child," now encourage visitors. "Come here, hurry!" scream older siblings or mother when he fails to keep in step with them on walks. For about three months the child's bleary eyes, tear-streaked face, and woebegone expression are unquestionable evidences of the most unhappy interval of his childhood.

In an attempt to continue "ruling" the family, he goes into frequent rages. He demands anything and everything in sight, concentrating on the breast and on being carried. Desperately he screams and cries. Finally he sits on the ground and refuses to move. If his caretaker does not pick him up at that point, he will simply lie prone and cry hysterically. Usually adults scream back at him and start walking away, whereupon the child quickly picks himself off the ground and runs after the retreating caretaker. In this way the child's control is broken. Furthermore, he is ridiculed, shamed and scolded for his "babyish" behavior. Only the grandmother, with whom he sleeps at night, responds to his dominating behavior. During the day, he whines, wheedles, and makes numerous demands on her.

Obviously family structure determines in part the severity of the deprivation. The child who lives in a household with a grandmother and perhaps older siblings will have someone to indulge him. The

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866 887 603 first child of a nuclear family, on the other hand, will not have these supports and thus finds this time severely depriving. The child in a nuclear family with a number of older siblings to support and meet his dependency needs will find the transition difficult but will suffer less deprivation. If there is a grandmother or older siblings in the house, he can still claim some infantile support until he is about 4 or 5 years old. They continue to comfort him when he cries, help him in dressing, bathing, and eating. "Go ask your grandmother or older sibling," instructs the mother when the child requests aid. Or, if she happens not to be busy, she will help him herself.

[596] Mothers in extended households complained that grandparents often intervened on behalf of the child and made disciplining very difficult. The kindergarten teacher remarked on the differences between children who have grandparents and those who do not. "Those who do not have grandparents are much easier to handle, they don't cry so easily and do many things for themselves. My child always runs to grandfather whenever I scold her (there is no grandmother in the house) . . . and we mothers end up by being scolded by the old folks," she remarked.

It is not an uncommon sight to see a child crying and running to his grandmother on being reprimanded by his mother. With carrying, hugging, and venting anger against the mother, the old woman comforts the child. Children soon learn that if no one else complies with their demands, grandmother or grandfather will grant them satisfaction.

866 603 855 Grandmothers often will protect and indulge children of the village other than their own grandchildren. One day as the fieldworker sat talking with two mothers and watching their children play, the question of Okinawans' dislike of children's crying, and of overindulgence of grandmothers arose. The year and a half old boy of one of the women at that instant got one foot over the lower rail of a fence. As the child watched others climbing the fence, he tried to lift the other foot. He howled as he discovered the feat too difficult. The mother made no move to go to the boy's aid but instead sat laughing at the "foolish predicament he got himself into." Suddenly from the house across the way rushed a grandmother. She picked the screaming boy up and examined him for bruises. When she spotted the mother sitting within eye and earshot, she rushed over with the boy and started to scold her. "What are you doing sitting there! Just looking at your crying child! Why didn't you go over and help him . . . see what the matter was anyway?" And with this she put the child in the mother's lap and gave her a slap on the back. The old woman then

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went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility.

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.*

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings.

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

867 593 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholely on the premise that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child. He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only after a period of stormy protests.

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Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 858 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of 6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

[861] Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense." Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

guilty parties there is slightly more emphasis in the censure of the female child, whether she is really more responsible for the disturbance or not. There is a tone in her voice which implies that "females do not fight; boys, well, boys can't be helped." The children are quick to sense this, particularly the guilty boys, who strut about brashly when the teacher turns her back to start serving the milk. 872 876 858

When all the milk has been served and drunk, the teacher starts the farewell song for the day. Again the song is fairly shouted out, but for a brief moment serenity reigns when the teacher bows her head slightly to say, "Students, good-bye, until tomorrow," to which the students respond, "Teacher, good-bye until tomorrow." 872 533

In spite of the competitive content of the games and lessons which the teacher presents to the kindergarten, the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivation and competitive spirit. There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling. Perhaps the remarks of a 4-year-old boy who reported to his mother on the activities of kindergarten are adequate to summarize the attitude of most kindergarten children. "Mother," he said, "Saburo is first in the races, Tetsuo is second and I am third, always third." To which the mother replied, "If you would try a little harder tomorrow, you may be first." The child looked at the mother questioningly, and the next day he reported that while he thought he tried harder he was again third. The mother again encouraged him, but with a broad smile the child said, "But mother (and the mother explains the expression on the child's face as one of 'You don't understand') I am third! Saburo is first, Tetsuo is second . . . and I am third!" The mother went on to explain to the fieldworker that the whole idea was hilariously funny to the child and the fact that the mother would take the subject so seriously was even funnier. 866 872 876

Furthermore, once the winners are determined, the game is concluded *in toto* as far as the teacher and the children are concerned. There are no congratulatory remarks beyond the clapping of the appreciative audience. No references are made to yesterday's winners or today's possible winners. During performances the teacher may encourage a child here with a positive comment, censure an unruly child there with the stick, but the whole atmosphere of child-teacher interactions is affectionate, indulgent, and relaxed. When a child is being reprimanded, the teacher takes no great pains to conceal her appreciation of the humor involved in the situation, and her affection for the "senselessness" of children at this age is expressed while she is making a token effort. [201] [858]

There are no toys to play with in kindergarten, no way in which to [i.e. the Kindergarten teacher - ANALYST] 872 876

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857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
● 866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings.
[593] They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[155] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy burden from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the
866 plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the
514 child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he attains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually
[887] restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

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too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when disagreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other.

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically.

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade.

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Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is

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858 doing. He is made to feel and understand that all the things he did as
866 a kindergarten child are reprehensible. His long walks to and from
872 school give him a sense of independence in spite of the fact that classmates and siblings accompany him. The adulation of kindergarteners, who hang on to everything he reports about his new experience, creates in him a sense of superiority which he never fails to emphasize. "You don't know how to write your name . . . see, this is how you write . . ." he fairly sneers at the wondering, admiring 3- to 5-year-olds and scratches the syllabary in the sand with his fingers.

MORNING ROUTINE

512 The first grader rises early the morning of his first day of school,
872 rushes out to the pot of water standing in the yard just outside the
857 kitchen door, splashes the cold water over his face, brushes his teeth, and re-enters the house. He shivers a bit in the cold, damp morning air
[291] as he struggles to wiggle out of the clothing he wore the day before and into an outfit specially designated for school. He remembers that he has a new pair of canvas shoes and runs out to wash his feet. Clothed and shod he peers into the darkness of the house, waiting impatiently for signs of stirring. From around the corner of the house his grandmother mutters as she goes about her task of starting the fire under the soup pot.

While his mother and grandmother prepare breakfast, he sits looking through his new books; a reader, penmanship notebook, an art book, a music book, and a nature science book. His father is the last to rise, and as he goes stumbling out to wash, his mother calls for someone to amuse the baby who has meanwhile awakened. His older siblings, who are still preparing themselves for school, feign surprise as the new first grader moves to the baby. "Yah! Look, the first grader is all ready!" they laugh.

As the morning meal of rice and soup is hurriedly eaten, the adults instruct the first grader not to disgrace himself and to listen to the teacher. Already the cries of other first graders are urging him to be off to school. The older siblings leisurely gather books and lunches together, but the first grader runs out to join his classmates. All question each other excitedly for "forgotten things." Their mothers stand admiringly, but a few are disgruntled. "It is still too early to start. You are not to be in school until a half hour before the beginning bell," they warn. A sympathetic old woman volunteers, "Go, it is a long way and you will take longer to walk," she advises as the little group starts

857 intimate as they used to be. He has little in common with them, but
561 since he still takes care of a younger sibling or plays games to which younger children are attracted, there remain frequent contacts between the age groups. The transition between first grade and second grade is in no way as pronounced as the drastic status change from
[866] kindergarten to first grade. Children feel it mostly as a gradually increasing pressure toward assuming more responsibility. The transition which takes place at a ritual level * during the early latency period, however, is not reflected in their daily life.

CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

857 Although adults say that the elementary school student is still very
868 much of a child who only toward the latter part of this stage can seriously be expected to contribute much to the tasks and duties in home and village; the children, in fact, do some work daily. Already in first grade, responsibility is approached with seriousness, girls exceeding boys in this respect. Children beg tasks, and obeying the school's directive to "help one's parents" seems to become the prime objective of first graders who have just proudly attained their new
857 status. They plead to accompany their older siblings who, with much
868 less zeal than the younger ones, gather giant African snails after a heavy rainfall, hunt frogs, dragon flies, and grasshoppers, or wash
231 potatoes for the pigs. Adults consider some of these chores play.
[866] Although frogs and grasshoppers are fed to the chickens, and minnows and seaweed are added to the pig swill, nevertheless, adults would not seriously label expeditions to collect these responsible. On the other hand, if there is no available feed, as occasionally happens, the child will be scolded and berated for "thinking only of play and not of the hungry chickens." Four- to 6-year-olds are discouraged from these foraging trips, for the danger of snake bites and accidents in the paddies and on the beach is very real. Accompanied by older siblings, however, they, too, may participate.

Some tasks, such as fetching water and feeding the pigs, cutting grass for the horse and goats, washing down the horse, and gathering faggots for the hearth, are still too difficult for the first grade child. But some of them are attempted, at least by assisting older children.

866 Once the child starts off to school, he is made aware that he is

[764 775] * In case of death, the child who has reached the age of 8 must be given a full fledged burial since in afterlife he becomes a buddha from now on. We had no indication that children were aware of this.

no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class.

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger sibling during a whole afternoon. A boy, looking after a younger child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions.

The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and girls is a cultural one. Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both are, on the adult level, performed by women. Cutting and gathering grass for horses and goats is men's work, but mopping floors, tidying and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys.

The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mothe of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy, I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are

857 fed every day. This is a job for him, and if he does not do it he gets
866 a scolding. . . . My husband does not believe in letting him play too much, and so K. has to take his job seriously—otherwise he will get scolded by his father."

The mother of a 5-year-old girl, after mentioning that she washes her own hair and shoes, said, "The day before yesterday she helped me clean up the place after eating, and so I told her that if she would do this two times a day for me, she would get one yen. She said she would do it, but I don't expect much because she is still
[861] too young." The girl's father is a township employee, but giving one yen as reward is also done by other mothers when they feel that a child has done more than can be expected at that age. Of her 8-year-old daughter, a mother says that "she can mop the floor, fetch water, watch the baby, and serve rice into the bowls at dinner time. But she does not really have to do these chores regularly. Whenever I am busy I ask her to do these things for me," and she adds that her girl very seldom refuses, but "if she should not do what I ask her to, I scold her." And the mother of another girl, 7 years old, tells that her daughter's job is "to mop the floor every day. She knows that it
[861] is her responsibility and she has to do it. When she does not do it, she gets a scolding until she does it. She usually does it, though, without too much difficulty." Only a few mothers point to care of younger
[855] siblings as one of the duties. It simply seems to be taken for granted so much that it is not even mentioned.

857 An enthusiastic 6-year-old girl surprised her mother one day, not
866 long after starting school, by taking the family laundry to the well
296 and washing it. When she returned, she hung out the wash carefully to dry, then went out to join her playmates. The mother came home, examined the wash, and found that it still needed a good scrubbing. Quickly gathering the once-washed clothing, she hurried down to the well. She chose a path around the back of the house to avoid being seen by her daughter. That night she thanked the girl for doing the wash and helping her so much. "I did not want to hurt her feelings by telling her that the washing was still dirty. It was fortunate that she did not see me going down to wash it the second time, for if she did, she would have been discouraged and might never have done it again," reported the mother.

857 The community as a whole also makes some demands on these
866 children of school age. Several times a year they sweep the streets
653 and adjoining public areas in the morning, before they leave for school.

Children seem to have an ambivalent attitude toward greater pres-

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sures in responsibility training. When tasks are mere routine, interfering with playing and other favorite activities, they are not always discharged with enthusiasm. We have already referred to this in the discussion of child care. On the other hand, there are many expressions, starting actually at kindergarten level, which reveal identification with adolescents and adults.

To the question, "What would you like to do best?" there were such answers from boys as: "I would like to go to the mountains and earn money" (7 years), and "I would like to plant rice" (8 years); and from girls: "I would like to cook, and I would like to transplant rice" (7 years), "I would like to cook rice and soup" (7 years with a wide grin), and "I would like to teach other children calculation if they need help, and take the place of the teacher" (10 years), adding, "Then I can punish boys who bully girls, too."

We learned something more about the identification with older children and young adults, and perhaps a feeling of envy of their status, from answers to questions such as, "Who would you like to be most if you could be changed into anybody by magic?" and "What age would you be if you could be any age?" And, in answering, children also revealed something of their needs, motivations, and goals. A 7-year-old boy stated that, "I would like to be 15 years old, then I can go deep places to swim . . . and then I can go to the mountains and earn money and buy rice, noodles, and help father and mother." He then expressed achievement motivation in his answer: "I would like to become a scholar on plant roots. Then I will know why trees wither and die. I want to save them because otherwise people cannot make money. Then I will be happy and feel good." Although this boy's father is not one of the prominent village leaders, he seems here to express the feeling which, we believe, explains much of the responsible behavior in village leaders. We also see a desire for independence in the answer of a 10-year-old boy, "I would like to be 20 years, then I can go and do work on my own," and nurturance with an almost sanctimonious overtone, perhaps linked to hidden anxiety about aggression, in this response to the magic man query, "I would have him change me into a big, big person. Then I can go and hit anyone who bullies little persons . . . I can look all over the whole village and catch all bad persons and talk to them . . . I can make them all good." This answer, which expresses, again, achievement desires was given by an 8-year-old boy, "I would like to be 16 years old because then studies will be easier and I can wrestle like the *seinen* (young adults)," followed by "Make me into a township official because they have 'good heads' (are intelligent) and they

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help the people. Then I can buy food with the money I earn and save some for a new house." Other boys, too, revealed a combination of achievement-oriented and nurturant needs and over-all qualities of responsibilities which characterize leading adults in the community. But there are also dependence needs in boys, such as expressed by this 10-year-old, "I would like to be the youngest baby . . . because everyone loves that one" (in response to the question "If you could be anybody in the family, would you like to be a father, mother, or a baby?") But the answer of a 7-year-old boy: "I want to become father, then I can raise potatoes, rice, and other things" is more typical of the Taira boys in this age group than the previous one.

Girls were quite explicit in their nurturance motivation, but they, too, used answers to reveal other desires. "I'd like to be mother so that I can cook and go to the mountains" (6 years); "I'd like to be 14, then I can fetch water and go on real errands and get money," and by the same girl (7 years), "I would like to be like K. (a girl of about 20 years) because she is an employee of the *yakuba*" (the servant and general helper at the township office). Several girls wanted to be the age of their older sisters, because, as one (6 years) said, "She buys things for me and she can buy all kinds of things for me." A real strong dependence need and a reflection of economic privations in her family, one of the poorest in Taira, was revealed by a 6-year-old girl: "I would like to become someone else's big sister . . . like the Kawata (village) rice miller's . . . because then I can eat a lot of rice," followed by, "I'd like to be Y. (baby sister) because she is small . . . because she is not even in kindergarten and father and mother will take me around with them."

Taira female adults' roles are apparently well recognized and correctly interpreted by these girls, and identifications are appropriate. Only one girl referred to a professional career, open to women, but her answer reveals very practical reasons for achievement striving: "I'd like to be a teacher, then I can do well in studies and do all kinds of studying . . . can earn money. With that money I can buy clothes and hats. And when anyone speaks *hōgen* (dialect), I can hit them with a stick and give them all failing grades. . . . Then I'll feel good!"

SCHOOL ROUTINE

The school, like the parents, expects more of the 8- to 12-year-olds. The session is longer, lasting until 4:00 in the afternoon and reducing

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ATTITUDES TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT

Observations revealed there is a contrast between home and school setting in attitudes and treatment of achievement-oriented and competitive behavior. The classroom situation tends to breed competition. Eager attempts to answer questions and to get the teacher's attention by raising a hand and calling out suggest competitive spirit. There was little we observed in the village which seemed to bolster competitive behavior, except for some games and occasional wrestling and athletic practice. Parents discourage boasting in children and in our presence gave little evidence of fostering achievement. However, if we now let the children speak, and then mothers (unfortunately fathers were not interviewed), one might get a different impression of the parental role in achievement training.

In answer to the questions "How do you feel about doing something better than anybody else your age? When you're not the best, do you ever practice so you can do better?" the six boys in our sample agreed that they would like to be first. One 8-year-old answered: "Yes, I would like to be better than my classmates." "But," he adds, "no, I don't practice or study when I am not first . . . only sometimes. If I am last I would practice and study because I would get scolded by the teacher and my parents. . . . I would be ashamed because others would laugh at me. But if I am average, I won't do anything, I don't care." Two other boys implied that they would do little to improve their position if they were in the middle, or as one put it, "I do want to be first, but I don't do anything about it . . . not much anyway."

The fear of being scolded by parents is also expressed in the answer of four others in this group. Shame was mentioned only by one other boy, but among those who fear scolding at home were two whose parents are exceptional in stressing good performance at home and driving their children toward higher standards. They responded, as one might expect, with expressions such as: "Yes, I would rather be better than all others. . . . In the middle? No, I would rather be first." Only one of these two mentioned fear of scolding as an incentive.

Girls' answers differed slightly in the somewhat greater emphasis on performing well and making determined efforts in this direction. One reply, "Yes, I will study hard to become first. Even if I am in the middle, I will try hard so I can be first. I don't feel good being

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866 876 last," was essentially echoed by the five other school girls in the sample of six. Three, however, thought they would not mind too much being in the middle, though they would prefer to be first, and all seemed to agree with the statement of one that "it is no fun to be the last," and as one said (and the five others put it in similar words): "If I am last, then I would work very hard. . . ." Wanting to be first and doing something about it are, of course, two different things. But the intentions of girls to work hard are stated more strongly than those of boys. And, significantly, none of the girls mentioned fear of scolding or shame.

[858] Does this mean, then, that girls have a higher achievement motivation than boys or are they just more responsible and obedient? At home girls have been trained to assume responsibilities at a slightly earlier age than boys and have, therefore, been exposed to more rewards for doing their tasks than boys—and also more scolding for doing them only in part or not at all, although the fear of being scolded is not verbalized. It may be that the desire to do well becomes an end in itself for these girls because of previous satisfactions and, possibly, fears. And to some extent, observations of classroom behavior and participation in studies by girls would bear out that they make more determined efforts to perform well in class.

Mothers' replies to the questions "How satisfied do you feel about how well your child does things?" and more specifically, "What do you do if he does poorly?" were uniformly positive expressions. All mothers said that they were not only happy with good performances but also actually encouraged good work at school by giving praise and often special food. Only three mothers of the boys who expected scolding said that they would do so if their child did poorly; two others suggested that they would talk to the child to make him perform better. The mother of one boy who stated that he would feel ashamed to be placed at the bottom said that if her boy "should do something poorly I would tell him that he has become 'useless, hopeless.'" None of the girls' mothers, on the other hand, indicated that she would scold their daughter for poor performance.

Mothers, then, though purporting to be interested in their children's performance in school, are actually using, at best, mild pressures toward satisfactory accomplishments. Although they genuinely feel a pleasure over good performance, we wonder if they express and enforce their sentiments toward children consistently enough, emphatically enough, and frequently enough to make an impact. We rather think that mothers who work in fields and mountains all day

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have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is some question in how much parental influence is relevant here. Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers, on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. The communities participate annually in athletic competitions sponsored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy being sociable while the young men and women engage in various sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

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866 Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast
872 for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among
boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead.
876 The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who
[858] makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may
volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other
[231] assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats,
which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

858 Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing
876 from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school
routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom;
they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment.
[177] The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the
educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes
we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World
War II rules, a separation continues in fact.

858 Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay,
876 more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls
in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents,
865 expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard
girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on
them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive
behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without
several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally
a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing
on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who
intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying
on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to
and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be
cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match
in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well
as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at
bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record
(second grade).

> . . . Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class . . . Class then starts reading aloud, each pupil for himself . . . A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking

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593 The presence in the background of T.'s mother may have something to do with his change in behavior toward H., or it may be that he wants her to wait her turn and do it his way. T. is very much in control of this situation, even among the boys. The swing is constructed on the edge of his parents' house. But T., on another occasion, when his aunt asked him to wash her daughter's (T.'s 4-year-old cousin) feet after she had waded in the muddy paddies, complied agreeably and was quite nurturant and indulgent with the younger girl. With [865] H., too, he is more cordial at other times. Perhaps what bothers him, and other boys of his age, is the interference of younger sisters with boys' play.

857 To sum up, between boys and girls of school age there is not a very close relationship, each sex being quite strongly oriented toward mem- 593 bers of its own group. Brothers and sisters, on the whole, fall into this 858 pattern, except that the succorance-nurturance relationship between younger and older continues, though moderately. Although separation of sexes is found in the kindergarten pattern, it is more pronounced in latency, since the activities of peers are more and more differentiated by sex.

RELATIONSHIP TO PEERS

857 We asked the children a question in an attempt to measure how they would resolve the conflict between having to do a chore and the ● 866 call of friends to join in play. All boys (in the group of six) agreed 156 that they would do their work first, four mentioning fear of being scolded. One boy worried about what his friends might think if he does not join them soon: "Will they not think badly of me?" adding, "Sometimes I have gone out without finishing my work and then I would worry about getting scolded. It's 'bad,' but if my friend persists, I would go and join him without doing my work." And another admitted, "If mother and father are not at home, I would go and play without finishing my work, but then I would worry about getting scolded."

Strangely enough, five of the girls answered that they would do their work first, but if their father and mother are not home, they would go out and play; at least four say so, while the fifth boldly says, "If friends come and call me when I am doing my chores, I will go and play without finishing," but this girl, coming from a poor family, is less secure than others and more anxious to be a part of the group. Several girls mentioned the fear of being scolded. Only one, the sixth, replied,

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"I would do my work first and then go out to play, whether my parents are home or not."

The mother of a younger boy reported that he is so anxious to rejoin his playmates that he barely gives himself time enough at home to eat his meal. It is our feeling that it is not just the desire to play which pulls children away from assigned tasks, but the urge to be with peers. The attitude of mothers encourages play groups. They tell their children: "Do not play alone; go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you." As one mother put it: "It looks so lonely when (my child) is playing alone." Only one mother, whose child-rearing methods in general deviate from those of others because she and her husband set high achievement goals and standards for their child, said that she would like to have her son play alone occasionally. In this way she hoped he would devote some time to educational activities. It is interesting, however, that several mothers mentioned the names of other children whom they considered unsuitable playmates for their child, either because they were too bossy, or too aggressive, or had otherwise undesirable qualities in their judgment. If, however, there is selectivity among children on the basis of their parents' desires, we were not aware of it.

Peers assume increasing importance as socializing agents as they grow older. Schoolchildren of the same age watch and control each other so that there is hardly need for interference by adults. Older children remind younger ones who neglect a crying young sibling to attend to his needs. Failure to respond to the succorant pleas of a younger sibling meets with disapproval. Peers rarely interfere directly with the activities of others, but do so by remarks to each other, and by other indirect means through which they achieve compliance or conformity. There are some obvious situations when outright commands by an older child are needed. For example, when a 3-year-old girl pulled the plug from the concrete water tank and was immediately frightened by the stream of water pouring out, a 6-year-old girl nearby called, "Close it," and watched as the little one hurriedly put the plug into place. Hardly ever does one hear children taking the role of an adult in trying to demand conformity from peers with rules set by adults. Only the boy mentioned earlier, whose parents make determined efforts to train him toward responsibility and achievement, occasionally attempts to correct the behavior of peers by talking like an adult. He always does it in a quasi-nurturant, responsible manner, perhaps because he strongly identifies with his father, one of the village leaders.

Parents do not like their children to become "leaders." Almost all

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857 of them disapprove of dominance in their children: "It would be terri-
● 866 ble if my child would tell this child and that child to do one thing or another and they would get into trouble." The fear expressed here, and in similar statements, is obviously that leadership entails responsibility in case anything goes wrong, and parents do not like to be put in a position where they or their children could be blamed.

865 The Western observer, perhaps, is most impressed with the ability
857 of children to manage their own affairs. Fights occur, and disagree-
156 ments crop up frequently, but almost without exception these matters are settled within the group and without dramatic scenes in which adults become involved. There are no violent fights or quarrels which break up groups and cause prolonged hostile feelings among children. Least of all did we find bullying and harassing of younger children by the older ones, although younger ones are often assigned inferior roles in play by the older children.

ACTIVITIES AND GAMES

857 In part, at least, the tone among these play groups is set by the sur-
524 prising variety of activities that children engage in during the year, innumerable games which come and go in cycles, but which have a village-wide appeal while they last. All of them are played with a minimum of equipment and a maximum of inventiveness and enthusiasm. There are few toys which parents can buy their children, and fewer still which they make for them. This situation is met with great ingenuity. Children use any objects available to them—discarded household equipment, empty cans, boxes, or whatever they pick and gather from trees, bushes, and the ground. Round stones, peas, and seeds serve as marbles; an empty carton becomes a truck or boat. Wooden sticks, bamboo, an old bicycle wheel without a tire find some use. Suddenly one day children run about with helmets made of cabbage leaves, swinging little pistols made of a piece of bamboo, or a stick as a dagger. Girls gather shells and gravel on the beach and carry pieces in their dress pockets. In the absence of dolls, girls have a younger sibling to act the part of "child" in realistic play. Babies, however, are never used in such games.

Boys and girls like to play games of skill. Girls often pull out five stones from their pockets and play a kind of jacks. There are also many versions of ball games in which one girl performs several stunts with a ball while she sings a song. If she makes a mistake, another one

possibly have lowered standards of sanitation. Morale may also be a factor; in the instance just mentioned the morale of the grandmother was undoubtedly better than that of her daughter and daughter-in-law whom she criticized. 863 178

A very small baby may be carried in the arms, but usually it is carried on the back. The mother places it with its belly to her back, its legs spread apart, and its head about at a level with the top of her shoulder. She secures it there with a long sash that runs once under its bottom, makes an X across her chest, passes around its shoulders, and ties in front. A baby is carried most frequently by its mother, but may also be carried a good deal by others, of either sex and any age, grandparents and older siblings being most frequent. The baby may look over the shoulder of its carrier or it may simply sleep, often with its head back and rolling. If it is fretful its carrier may lean forward a bit and jog it to sleep. Larger children may be carried without the sash, by just letting them hang on. Babies are carried about while all sorts of tasks are being performed. 854

Mothers often carry their babies into the fields when they go out to work, [illegible] when they are working in the house they may put their babies to sleep on the floor of the house. If a baby is put to sleep on the floor it is made to sleep on its back. Often the hard floor, which may or may not be covered with a thin mat, will cause the back of the baby's head to become flattened, or if the baby constantly turns its head to one side, the head may become assymetrical, but later fills out to assume its normal shape. Some mothers use a small mosquito net on a frame to protect the sleeping baby from insects, but frequently it is uncovered and flies may alight on it. A few mothers use a hammock-like device called 'burank', as a cradle; these are said to be becoming more popular. At night children, especially smaller children, sleep with their parents on quilts on the floor, under the one large net. [513]

Children are expected to learn to walk at about 12 to 14 months. Early walking is a sign of good health so that if a child is late to walk, the parents may worry about it. As Glacken points out, there is an important change in the life of the child at this time. Instead of being carried everywhere on his mother's or older sibling's back, the child is now put down and expected to toddle along behind his mother, who is not always sympathetic when he fails to keep up. This change may be a greater trauma to the child than weaning or toilet-training.[1] 856 866

Children are said to begin talking at about a year and a half. The first words are usually, nowadays, 'o-kaa', o-tō', 'o-baa', the Japanese equivalents of "daddy", "mommy", and "grandma". Parents do not worry if a child is a little late in talking. 856

Childhood: Adult Attitudes Okinawans recognize clearly that children are not capable of participating in most adult activities and indeed appear to regard it as undesirable that they do so. Okinawan attitude contrasts sharply with the "modern" American one that takes 858 [171]

[1] Glacken, 1953, p. 264.